361 Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Seheil
342 there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none
177 of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Hadhramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

342 The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main Wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, and which leave much to be desired from the standpoint of hygiene, it may be interesting to record that in one Wadi through which we travelled, to the north of the main Wadi towards the desert, I found troglodyte Beduins living in caves in the walls of the Wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseila between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than five feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents of matting.

Wages and Cost of Living in the Towns.

000 The manner of living adopted by the wealthy of the Hadhramaut and by the tribesmen is sufficiently indicated in other parts of this report. The following notes give an indication of the condition of the wage-earning classes in the towns.

5N For labourers the cost of living is said to be cheaper in Mukalla
435 than in Aden. Firewood and water are free, and there is nothing to pay in the way of ground rent. Rents are very low; as an example, a large building of five storeys costing Rs.15,000 to build would not fetch Rs.20 a month in rent. There is no tax
661 on property. The people in the towns pay their tithes straight to
735 the poor and not to Government.

465 Masons and carpenters receive a rupee and a-half a day, and
435 their assistants nine to ten annas. Labourers generally receive from nine to twelve annas a day. Coolies on ships are paid twelve annas and food. In Mukalla, porters receive from one pice to two annas a load according to distance. From the Customs to the western gate of the town (just over a mile) is two annas, but most carries are those earning two or three pice. The price paid for carrying water to houses from the public fountains attached to the town water-supply of Mukalla is two pice a tin and three pice for two tins.

In Kanina, Hajr province, masons receive a rupee a day, and their assistants five annas. Carpenters are paid by piece work. Three pice is paid for carrying one load of water on donkey back from below the town. Field labourers are paid five dollars and food a month or by piece work.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The Kathīris have no organised Governmental institutions in the accepted sense of the word, though the Sultan and his supporters, including the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun, are very anxious for progress. Sultan 'Ali's state income is estimated at $20,000 a year in respect of Seiyun, Taris and Mariama; $6,000 of this is a direct contribution from the Al Kaf Seiyids, and the remainder consists of taxes on dates and on goods entering Seiyun. The whole sum is expended on state services, for Sultan 'Ali has a private income derived from Singapore. He maintains a force consisting of 200 indifferently armed slave soldiers in Seiyun, and 200 in Tarim.

In Tarim the Al Kaf contribute $12,000 a year to the city Treasury. There is a Town Council which organises the local taxation, and thanks to the Al Kaf Seiyids its affairs are said to be run in a very business-like way, for its budget balances. In normal times the political expenditure on maintaining peace between Tarim and the neighbouring tribes is perhaps $4,000 a year, and this is all borne by the Al Kafs. But to this normal expenditure is often added extraordinary expenditure as, for instance, in a case which occurred about May 1934, when Seiyid Bubekr, the second brother of the family, spent $12,000 in settling a dispute between Tarim and the Tamimis.

In Tarim and Seiyun there is a doctor and dispensary, but they are supported by the Seiyids. At the time of my visit, the doctor, a Punjabi, was on leave and such work as was being carried on was being done by a dispenser. No great public use was made of his services. The dispensary costs the Al Kafs about $1,000 a month, and they spend $2,000 a month on charities and roads. As regards their expenditure on communications it should be recorded that they built all the water pools on the caravan route from Tarim to Shihr, that they spent $7,000 on building a pass at Al 'Arsha for caravans, and that Seiyid Bubekr has spent over $180,000 on road making between Tarim and Shihr.

The schools in Kathīri territory are almost entirely supported by the wealthy Seiyids. There are two Ribāts, religious foundations, principally supported by *Waqfs* (religious endowments) for the teaching of religion and philosophy. Of these one is in Seiyun and has an attendance of 40 students, and the other is in Tarim with an attendance of 120. The Saqqaf family of Seiyids maintain two schools in Seiyun, one containing 300 boys and seven teachers, the other 100 boys and four teachers, and the Al Kafs, who also contribute to the Ribāts, run two schools in Tarim. One of these formerly had an attendance of 400 boys but it is now only attended by children of the family, numbering 54. The other, a public school, accommodates between 300 and 400 boys. The Al Kafs also run one if not two schools at Khoreiba in Wadi Du'an in Qu'aiti territory. They are, in fact, the only people undertaking educational activities in a wider sense in that province. I believe, too, that they support the private schools in Mukalla and Shihr.

Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM 21

Ziarra, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court.

Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer.

In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed.

When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

A JOURNEY IN HADRAMAUT

This article, originally printed by the Royal Geographical Society of the Netherlands, has been translated from the Dutch.—*Ed.*

101 Hadramaut is a part of Arabia about which very little is yet known. It was celebrated in antiquity as the land of frankincense and myrrh, and the great trade route from India to the ports of South Arabia and thence through Hadramaut, Yemen and Nejran to Egypt and Syria, brought prosperity and culture. Lying on the border of the Sabæan and Minæan kingdoms, Hadramaut appears to have adopted many of their civilizing elements, and yet to have maintained its own independence. After the decline of the Sabæan kingdom and the civilization which flourished there, Hadramaut also sank into poverty and ignorance. In this respect Islam appears to have brought but little change. After the destruction of 167 the irrigation works, the poverty became terrible, and 735 the country was scarcely able to provide a meagre subsistence even for a very small population. Even centuries ago this led the most enterprising of the men to seek for themselves a better livelihood in foreign lands. 167 The men of Hadramaut wandered off to the east coast 186 of Africa, to the countries around the Red Sea as far as Egypt, to British India and to the Dutch East Indies. Their women never went with them, and the men remained firmly attached to their poor, dry and intensely hot native land. In foreign lands the people of Hadramaut have preserved their own characteristics up to the present day, and have never become assimilated to the peoples among whom they lived, endeavoring to return at some time to their native land, and sending their male children to Hadramaut for their education, if they could

24:Moulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

often very poor in water, but, over and above this, countless internal wars make traffic dangerous and force travellers to go by very circuitous routes. This is why the Ḥaḍramī seldom knows his own country well. A learned Ḥaḍramī whom I knew formerly said to me quite truly: "I know all the volcanoes of Java and all the stations on its main railway lines, but I cannot give you any information about the wādīs and mountains a few hours distant from my home." The Sultan of Sēwūn is a relatively favourable exception to this rule in that he has seen Aden; he went there to attend a conference convened by the British authorities, where an attempt was made to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the differences between the Qeᶜēṭī and Kathīrī rulers. He desires to see more of the world, including Java, the land in which three quarters of his subjects have interests. The great difficulty, however, is to get over the Qeᶜēṭī barrier, and for that an aeroplane is necessary. The site for the future aerodrome which was shown to us seemed quite suitable.

In the evening there is again a gathering on the roof-terrace at ᶜIzz ed-Dīn. The subject brought forward for discussion is the poverty of Ḥaḍramaut and how relief from it may be obtained. In and around Sēwūn the water-level is not deep, which fact accounts for the prosperous palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. But the water-supply would have to be enlarged if it is to help the people really forward. This cannot be done by motor pumps, because they are too expensive in practice. The pump at Hēnin has to work eight hours a day to keep in existence a few acres of *dhura* and 200 small palm-trees, and that costs more in kerosene and lubricating oil than can ever be made from the produce of the irrigated land. The soil in Sēwūn is better and water nearer to the surface, and yet experience has taught that here also the motor pump does not pay. Can matters not be improved by means of artesian wells? The Sultan asks us to help by sending an expert with the necessary instruments. He says that at one time, in the days of the Ḥimyaritic kingdom, Ḥaḍramaut must have been

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

prosperous. Great irrigation works for collecting and distributing water were constructed. There is no longer united action, the reservoirs have gone to wrack and ruin, and now, every year, quantities of life-giving water stream down to the sea and are wasted. This matter was discussed again thoroughly later in Terīm.

May 26th is the day fixed for our departure for Terīm. In the morning, cars are placed at our disposal to enable us to make a tour through the city and its surroundings for taking photographs. We thankfully seize this opportunity of making a pictorial record of some of the fine houses and views of this city in a forest of palms in the midst of the desert. In photographing the es-Saqqāf town house it is impossible to evade the pressing invitation of Sayyid Hūd es-Saqqāf to come in and have a glass of tea, so we promise to do so as soon as we have finished photographing. We cannot pass the cemetery without taking snapshots of some graves with light-green cupolas with unostentatious, beautiful, open-work borders. There are also several small mosques in picturesque situations. The Sultan kindly allowed us to admire the city of Sēwūn from the roof of his palace. Noticeable here in this great palace are the order and cleanliness which literally gleam out at the visitor. It is especially in the palaces, with the many soldiers quartered in them and with the many guests, that the contrary is often the case. It takes some time before the women in the corridors and on the staircases, where we have to pass, can be warned of our approach. When this has been successfully done we saunter through deserted passages of mud and ascend by well-constructed even staircases to the shining white roof. Here we stand on the most beautiful site in Ḥaḍramaut. Terīm does its best to equal it and has more to show in great palaces, but here is grace, here is the happy variation of deep-green, luxuriant gardens and fine summer residences, here the Ḥaḍramī style, pure and harmonious, has been adhered to.

In the house of the namesake of Hūd, Ḥaḍramaut's great prophet, the promised glass of tea is awaiting us. The grey-

94:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

ques. One of the el-Kāfs told us that there are 200 in use and 160 falling into disrepair. My friend Sayyid Hāshim makes it 60 in use and 300 falling into disrepair; this is, doubtless, nearer to the truth.'

The number of the inhabitants of Terīm is almost certainly 12000, for our host has lists of names in connection with the distributions of food made by him to the masses. Sēwūn must then have rather more, that is, between 12000 and 15000.

There are two elementary schools here with about 400 pupils, and one school for more advanced religious instruction with some 200 students.

After the visit to the castle we go to New Terīm. There a completely new suburb is being built, partly for people who are in the service of the el-Kāfs. In none of the places that we had visited up to now was there so much life and expansion as here. In Terīm a conscious and well-considered effort is being made to become, within a short time, the foremost town of Ḥaḍramaut. El-Kāf and Terīm are the names that we heard everywhere whenever new undertakings or plans were under discussion.

We pass through the new suburb till we strike the wall of the city, which ascends the slope of the mountain at this spot until it becomes unclimbable. Two forts manned by soldiers strengthen this starting point of the defence works of the town. From their high position they overlook quite half of the well-maintained and solid wall which encloses the town and the palm-groves in straight lines.

It is Thursday, the day for the distribution of food to the poor. As we return home, the street and square before our host's house are black with women, children and greybeards, awaiting the portions of rice and flour that are destined for them. The work of distribution lasts for hours. Servants hand out the portions; others check and sign long lists of names. The soldiers and Bedouins from the Qeʿēṭī territory who accompany us gaze in dumb amazement at this lavish charitableness. Soon when they return to their country, they will

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-S (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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spread still more widely and will magnify in their highly coloured narratives the fame of that noble-minded Sayyid Abû Bakr el-Kâf. So it is that the hopes and expectations of an ever-growing number turn towards Terim. If Sayyid Abû Bakr wished for political power, he would have an opportunity to establish unity and peace in the Kathîrî territories now torn by internecine warfare.

24: Maulan and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

has made his fortune abroad has built here a princely house for himself. He has, of course, not forgotten to render thanks to Allah at the same time by building a mosque, a glittering white masterpiece of Ḥaḍramī architecture. The contrast between the great wealth of many sayyids and the poverty of the great mass of the people does not seem to be poignantly felt here. The palaces of the rich stand right in the midst of dying towns; their children, frequently overdressed, play with the almost naked black children of slaves. The rich return of their own accord from lands of culture and prosperity to their own land of appalling poverty, to enjoy within its borders the wealth they have accumulated. Allah has willed that there be rich men in the world and poor men to whom they should be able to give alms. It is fit and proper that there should be beggars in every good Muslim society and especially a plentiful supply of them in places of pilgrimage, so that the pious may have ample opportunity to practise the generosity commanded by Allah. We have noticed little jealousy or class conflict in Ḥaḍramaut. This is certainly due partly to the democratic way of living. The privileges of the sayyid class have a religious and not a money basis. Soldiers, household slaves and the free citizens of the village meet in the *madjlis* of the rich and all eat there in company, drink from the same bowl and join in the same converse.

From Qasam we go by car along the high clay bank of the *masīla* (the bed of the wādī), which has been eroded by the *anqa*. Having reached a point opposite ʿEnāt we attempt to cross the wide sandy bed of the *masīla* to reach the town. The palm plantations have been growing progressively thinner and the soil here is entirely covered by a layer of sand. We stall constantly in this sand in the *masīla* and have difficulty in reaching ʿEnāt, where everything speaks of vanished glory. The town is scattered over a wide area; great open spaces give one the impression that the population was formerly much larger than it is now. At one time many pilgrims were attracted here by the seven *qubbas* which adorn

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Liaison

In the first half of 1947 the post of Protectorate Education Officer was filled, a post which had been vacant for a year. This Officer's duties include tours of inspection throughout the Protectorate, and advice and assistance, through the British Agents, where required.

In the Eastern Aden Protectorate advance was somewhat hampered by the absence of the Sudani Adviser for the greater part of the year on leave. However, estimates for grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act were prepared and despatched; these include schemes for enlarging the Intermediate School at Gheil Ba Wazir and for primary schools for the Kathiri State and Wahidi area. A number of scholarships for Hadhramis were given by the Governments of Syria, Egypt and Iraq.

HEALTH

Medical Report for the Western Aden Protectorate

His Majesty's Government finance a small medical service in the Western Aden Protectorate. The area covered is large, communications are poor and access to many parts is difficult. In consequence only a small proportion of the population, who are in great need of health services, can be visited and treated. Nevertheless, 16 dispensaries are maintained at strategic points in the Protectorate. New dressers are given instruction in hygiene and elementary medicine and nursing care, and are then sent out to open up new areas or to work with more senior dressers in the established dispensaries. They have to deal with diseases common to all races. Certain tropical diseases such as schistosomiasis and dysentery are very prevalent.

Drought and the vagaries of the climate also play their part in undermining the health of the inhabitants. The third year of drought in Sublihi country undoubtedly had an effect on the prevalence of tuberculosis, dental caries and vitamin deficiency diseases in that area.

Apart from the dispensaries in the Protectorate, the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital in Sheik Othman which trains the dispensers also welcomes up-country patients. More would come than do at present if ignorance and superstition did not prevail in the Protectorate. Again, for many the road to the hospital is physically difficult and it is certain that they come only as a last resort and after long deliberation. In consequence doctors do all they can to visit the dispensaries as frequently as possible and to spend adequate time at each one to treat the sick, and to give instructions to dressers to keep them up to date.

Famine Relief

During 1947 the situation in the Hadhramaut continued to improve. At the beginning of the year there were 1,112 persons being fed in the kitchens, which were closed by the end of March, leaving only Malja—a relief centre for those incapable of work—whose 716 inmates in March were gradually reduced to 227 in December. Nuqer dam, the major famine relief work undertaken, was finished in June. Remittances